U. S. S E N A T E

Republican Policy Committee

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IN HIS OWN WORDS

Broken Promises From the President

1. His First 100 Days:

► "I intend to have a legislative program ready on the desk of Congress on the day after I'm inaugurated. I intend to have an explosive 100-day action period."

June 23, 1992.

► "People of the press are expecting [us] to have some 100-day program. We never ever had one."

Dee Dee Myers, January 12, 1993.

2. Middle Class Tax Cut:

"I believe you deserve more than 30-second ads or vague promises. That's why I've offered a comprehensive plan to get our economy moving again. It starts with a tax cut for the middle class and asks the rich to pay their fair share again."

Clinton's first campaign ad, January 1992.

"We will lower the tax burden on middle class Americans by asking the very wealthy to pay their fair share. Middle class taxpayers will have a choice between a children's tax credit or a significant reduction in their income tax rate."

Putting People First, September 1992.

"I will not raise taxes on the middle class to pay for these programs. If the money does not come in there to pay for these programs, we will cut other government spending or we will slow down the phase-in of these programs. I am not gonna raise taxes on the middle class to pay for these programs."

October 19, 1992.

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From New Hampshire forward, for reasons that absolutely mystified me, the press thought the most important issue in the race was the middle class tax cut. I never did meet any voter who thought that."

January 14, 1993.

To middle class Americans who have paid a great deal for the last 12 years and from whom I ask a contribution tonight . . . "

February 17, 1993.

3. Tax Burden:

► "You know what my plan is, to raise taxes on people whose incomes are above \$200,000..."

July 13, 1992.

The new 36 percent Clinton tax rate takes effect on couples earning more than \$140,000 and individuals making more than \$115,000.

P.L. 103-66, Clinton's Tax and Spend Plan.

4. Eliminating the Deficit:

"I would present a five-year plan to balance the budget."

June 4, 1992.

This budget plan, by contrast, will by 1997 cut \$140 billion in that year alone from the deficit."

February 17, 1993.

Clinton's February 1995 budget submission still fails to lead the Nation toward a balanced federal budget. Rather, it keeps the deficit at the \$200 billion level for the next five years (which is an optimistic assessment).

5. Cutting the Deficit in Half:

"The plan not only pays for every penny in new investment with new savings but — even with modest growth estimates — will cut the deficit in half by 1996."

Putting People First, September 1992.

Deficit, assuming baseline economics, FY 1997: \$214 billion. Deficit, assuming Administration economics, FY 1997: \$181 billion.

Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1994, p. 2.

6. Size of the Deficit:

► "I can't [avoid raising taxes on the middle class] because the deficit has increased so much, beyond my earlier estimates . . ."

February 17, 1993.

"[S]enior Administration officials, including Bentsen and Panetta, concede that the professed shock at higher deficit estimates issued after the election was largely feigned. Moreover, the new Clinton team issued initial budget projections soon after taking office that put absolutely the worst face possible on the deficit outlook, manipulating data to reinforce the impression that Bush had left Clinton with a fiscal nightmare."

Los Angeles Times, April 24, 1994, p. D1.

7. Corporate Tax Rates:

▶ "I don't think we should raise corporate tax rates, [but I think we should give corporations more incentives to invest in this country]."

July 13, 1992.

President Clinton's original plan would have raised the top marginal rate for corporate income taxes to 36 percent, but Congress would only agree to raise it to 35 percent (the current rate is 34 percent).

P.L. 103-66, Clinton's Tax and Spend Plan.

8. Welfare Reform:

► "[W]e need real welfare reform. . . . I recommend, number one, that you require people to take jobs."

May 6, 1992.

Mand I have a plan to do even better, to end welfare as we know it . . . "

August 12, 1992.

"The Clinton plan gives welfare recipients two years of benefits before any work requirement is imposed, and imposes time limits and work requirements on only about 20 percent of recipients. Under the Clinton plan, after two years of welfare checks, recipients could be indefinitely supported by a government-subsidized paycheck."

Bob Dole News Release, June 14, 1994.

9. China MFN:

"We will condition favorable trade terms with repressive regimes — such as China's Communist regime — on respect for human rights, political liberalization, and responsible international conduct."

Putting People First, September 1992.

We will link China's trading privileges to its human rights record and its conduct on trade and weapon sales."

August 13, 1992.

"I am moving, therefore, to delink human rights from the annual extension of most-favored nation trading status for China."

May 26, 1994.

10. Haitian Refugees:

"I am appalled by the decision of the Bush administration to pick up fleeing Haitians on the high seas and forcibly return them to Haiti before considering their claim to political asylum. . . . If I were President, I would — in the absence of clear and compelling evidence that they weren't political refugees — give them temporary asylum until we restored the elected government of Haiti."

May 27, 1992.

"For Haitians who do seek to leave Haiti, boat departure is a terrible and dangerous choice. . . . For this reason, the practice of returning those who fled Haiti by boat will continue, for the time being, after I become President. Those who do leave Haiti . . . by boat will be stopped and directly returned by the United States Coast Guard."

January 14, 1993.

11. Military Action in Haiti:

► "I have no intention of asking our young people in uniform . . . to go in there to do anything other than implement a peace agreement . . ."

October 13, 1993.

"... I think that we cannot afford to discount the prospect of a military option [in Haiti]."

May 3, 1994.

12. Bosnia:

"We will make the U.S. the catalyst for a collective stand against aggression, the action I have urged in response to Serbian aggression in Bosnia..."

August 13, 1992.

▶ "I think we should act. We should lead."

April 23, 1993.

"I cannot unilaterally lift the arms embargo [on Bosnia. . . . Our allies decided that they weren't prepared to go that far this time."

June 15, 1993.

▶ "The United Nations controls what happens in Bosnia."

June 15, 1993.

13. Mission in Somalia:

The ultimate goal is to make sure that the United Nations can fulfill its mission there and continue to work with the Somalis toward nation-building."

June 16, 1993.

▶ "The U.S. military mission is not now nor was it ever one of 'nation-building.'"

October 13, 1993.

14. Social Security:

"...we're also overtaxing it [Social Security] today by about \$65 billion to \$70 billion to make our deficit look smaller. So I think the last thing we want to do is to divide the American people against one another again by carving up Social Security."

December 22, 1991.

▶ "I think — you know, raising taxes on Social Security recipients or middle class people, the fifty-cent [Perot] gas tax and all these tax increases when the economy is not growing is an error."

October 23, 1992.

Clinton's original plan taxed 85 percent (rather than the current 50 percent) of Social Security benefits for couples earning more than \$32,000 and individuals earning more than \$25,000. However, that was too much even for Congress to handle, so during conference the threshold was raised to \$44,000 for couples and \$34,000 for individuals.

P.L. 103-66, Clinton's Tax and Spend Plan.

15. Mindless Spending:

"This country doesn't need a new program for every problem, and we won't get change simply by spending more on programs already on the books."

April 16, 1992.

"In spending, the stimulus program provides additional budget authority equal to \$16.3 billion."

A Vision of Change for America, February 17, 1993.<R>

16. Lobby Reform:

"It's long past time to clean up Washington. The last twelve years were nothing less than an extended hunting season for high-priced lobbyists and Washington influence peddlers. On streets where statesmen once strolled, a never-ending stream of money now changes hands — tying the hands of those elected to lead."

Putting People First, September 1992.

► "Inside Schmoozers Line Up . . . Three of Clinton's top appointments were lobbyists: Commerce Secretary Ron Brown . . . U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor...and Veterans' Affairs Director Jesse Brown."

Cleveland Plain-Dealer, February 8, 1993, p. 1A.

"But in a recognition of the fact that lobbyists constitute a fertile source of fund-raising, Clinton will accept contributions [to his legal defense fund] of up to \$1,000 annually from the Washington lobbyists whose activities he decried during the campaign and since taking office."

Washington Post, June 29, 1994, p. Al.

17. 50 Percent Quota for Cabinet Women:

"I wouldn't restrict myself to having just half the Cabinet be women. I might want more."

February 29, 1992.

► Currently, 3 out of 14 Cabinet members are women, or 21 percent.

Information as of April 5, 1995.

Two-thirds of his team are white males, and 86 percent are white... A third are graduates of the prestigious Ivy League colleges, and 36 percent are lawyers. His cabinet contains more lawyers and more millionaires than Mr. Bush's did."

The Guardian, March 10, 1993.

18. 25 Percent White House Staff Cuts:

▶ "We will reduce the White House staff by 25 percent . . . '

Putting People First, September 1992.

"What the cuts [to White House staff] have become, instead, is a struggle to make the numbers come out right, a study in creative definitions of what constitutes the White House staff, and a flurry of pink slips sent to career workers . . . Figures provided by the White House...show increases in spending on the White House office staff, the vice president's staff, the Office of Administration, the Domestic policy office and the National Security Council . . . The Office of Management and Budget and the office of the U.S. Trade Representative, show slight increases as well. Where the major saving occurs is in the Office of National Drug Control Policy, where \$76 million in its 'forfeiture fund' has been reduced to \$28 million, and staff — all career workers in the anti-drug field — has been reduced from 112 to 25 for a total savings of nearly \$60 million."

Washington Post, September 30, 1993, p. A1.

19. Line Item Veto:

► "To eliminate pork-barrel projects and cut government waste, we will ask Congress to give the President the line item veto."

Putting People First, September 1992.

► The President never did send a proposal to Congress, but rather sat back and waited for the Republican controlled Congress to initiate the task.

April 4, 1995.

20. Drug War:

▶ "[President Bush] hasn't fought a real war on crime and drugs. I will."

July 16, 1992.

I'I never thought I'd miss Nancy Reagan. There can't be a rating [on the Clinton drug policy] when there hasn't been a performance."

Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY), April 24, 1993.

Clinton reduced funding for the Office of National Drug Control Policy (drug czar) to \$5.8 million (FY 1993 funding level was \$103 million).

Budget of the United States Government for FY 1994, p. A-222.

21. Privacy Act Violations:

"If I catch anybody using the State Department like that [searching files] when I'm president, you won't have to wait till after the election to see them gone...I just want you to know that the State Department of this country is not going to be fooling with Bill Clinton's politics, and if I catch anybody doing it I will fire them the next day; you won't have to have an inquiry or rigmarole or anything else..."

November 12, 1992.

"The State Department's inspector general has been asked to investigate whether the Privacy Act may have been violated when information from personnel files of former Bush administration political appointees at the department was examined and disseminated . . . personnel folders of two former Bush officials, Jennifer Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Tamposi, had been reviewed."

Washington Post, September 3, 1993, p. Al.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher "fired two lower-level State department political employees for their involvement in the retrieval and disclosure in September of information from Bush administration personnel files. . . ." Friday, November 10, 69 days after their actions were first reported.

Washington Post, November 11, p. A10.

22. Tough on Crime:

"We need to put . . . more criminals behind bars."

Putting People First, September 1992.

- ► "Reduce prison construction. Cut \$580 million from FY 1994-98."

 A Vision of Change for America, February 17, 1993, p. 123.
- "New [prison] Construction: FY 1993 estimate: \$771.8 million; FY 1994 estimate: \$501.7 million."

Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1994, Appendix-777.

23. 100,000 New Police Officers:

▶ "Fight crime by putting 100,000 new police officers on the streets."

Putting People First, September 1992.

► "It's not 100,000 fully funded police officers. It never has been that. But it is a very, very solid and sizable commitment to law enforcement assistance."

Representative Tom Foley, August 27, 1994

In 1990, the average operating expenditure of local police departments per sworn officer ranged from \$51,600 in smaller cities to nearly \$63,000 for larger cities. The 1994 federal crime bill contains \$8.8 billion over six years for police. It cannot, therefore, fully fund "100,000 cops" — it won't even come close. Let's be superkind to the "100,000 cops" political posturing and calculate that an officer costs just \$50,000 per year. 100,000 cops times \$50,000 equals \$5 billion. The crime bill authorized \$8.8 billion. In other words, with \$8.8 billion you could fully fund "100,000 cops" for 1.76 years if you don't count buildings, cars, guns, pensions, legal assistance, etc. When these other real costs are counted, we are down below a year.

Professor John Dilulio letter to Senator Orrin Hatch, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, March 13, 1995.

24. Radio Free Europe:

"We should build on the success of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and expand our successful surrogate broadcasting."

October 1, 1992.

The Budget reflects the President's decision to consolidate U.S. international broadcasting and achieve significant savings by eliminating administrative overlap and duplication... In the past, this account provided funds for the construction of a new radio relay station in Israel. The Administration has decided to cancel this project in 1993."

Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1994, Appendix-1042.

25. Buying More National Park Land:

"Expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with funds already available."

Putting People First, September 1992.

"Clinton Backs Off Campaign Promise to Purchase More Park Land... Clinton's proposed 1994 budget released today seeks \$208 million for land acquisition, down from the \$366 million President Bush sought last year."

Associated Press, April 8, 1993.

26. Gas Tax:

"Oppose federal excise gas tax increases. Instead of a backbreaking federal gas tax, we should try conservation, increased use of natural gas, and increased use of alternative fuels."

Putting People First, September 1992.

b "I think — you know, raising taxes on Social Security recipients or middle class people, the fifty-cent [Perot] gas tax and all these tax increases when the economy is not growing is an error."

October 23, 1992.

After President Clinton realized he could not gain enough support for his proposed Btu tax (which would have, among other things, imposed a tax of about 7.5 cents per gallon for gasoline and 8.3 cents per gallon for diesel), he had to accept a smaller tax that was agreed to in the Senate and passed by Congress: a 4.3-cents-per-gallon motor fuels tax. The law also extends a 2.5-cent gas tax set to expire in 1995.

P.L. 103-66, Clinton's Tax and Spend Plan.

27. Government Mandates:

- "I am going to stop handing down mandates to you and regulating you to death."

 June 22, 1992.
- Instead of following through on promises of fewer federal mandates and regulations, **President Clinton on January 22, 1993 abolished the Competitiveness Council**, whose regulatory reform efforts promised to yield more than \$20 billion in annual savings and save or create an estimated 200,000 jobs.
- Early in his Presidency, President Clinton signed into law the Family Medical Leave Act and the Motor Voter bill, both which imposed huge mandates, the first on small businesses, the second on state governments.
- The Clinton health care proposal of 1994 would have imposed sweeping new mandates.
- The EPA is under a court-ordered deadline of April 30, 1995, to issue a final rule imposing "enhanced monitoring" requirements on stationary sources to improve compliance with emissions limits on pollutants. The EPA's enhanced monitoring rule is a prime example of a federal bureaucracy expanding legislative authority to produce an extremely expensive, highly redundant, and impossibly complex regulatory scheme. The rule would require every stationary source that meets the EPA's size threshold (30 percent of the size of a "major source"), from factories to dry cleaners, to install very expensive monitors to continuously test the effectiveness of the expensive pollution control devices already installed at that site. EPA has remained insensitive to the defects of its proposed rule, issued in October 1993, and has sent a substantially unaltered draft final rule to the OMB for final approval.

 RPC's Regulation Watch,, March 31, 1995.

28. Military Readiness

Our forces are the finest military our Nation has ever had, and I have pledged that as long as I am president they will remain the best-equipped, the best-trained, and the best-prepared fighting force on the face of the earth."

State of the Union, January 25, 1994

The General Accounting Office published its assessment of whether the Clinton long-term defense budget includes enough money to fund the military forces the President says America will need through the end of the Millennium. Its conclusion: the President has underfunded his forces by an amount "in excess of \$150 billion."

GAO, p. 2 from Heritage Foundation Reports, September 27, 1994.

The Defense Science Board's Task Force on Readiness published a report identifying some 140 "concerns" that constitute "red flags" for defense managers to signal potential problems affecting future readiness."

Readiness Task Force Report, p. 7 as reported by the Heritage Foundation Reports, September 27, 1994.

Deputy Defense Secretary John Deutch ordered all armed services "to plan for the possible cancellation or delay of nearly every large new weapons system in the planning or development stages."

John Mintz, "Defense Memo Warns of Cuts in Programs," The Washington Post, August 22, 1994, p. Al.

► "I intend to ask Congress to add an additional \$25 billion to our planned defense budgets over the next six years."

Clinton Briefing on Military Readiness, December 1, 1994

And while President Clinton announced in December 1994 that he will increase the defense budget by \$25 billion over the 1996-2001 period, over one-half of the money, some \$15 billion, will only be provided five years from now. Under Clinton's plan, the defense budget will be increased by \$6 billion in FY 2000 and \$9 billion in FY 2001. Furthermore, the Administration has failed to disclose where they will find \$25 billion in new budget authority.

29. POW/MIAs:

"Make resolution of the POW/MIA issue a national priority by insisting on a full accounting of all POWs and MIAs before normalizing [diplomatic] relations with Vietnam."

Putting People First, September 1992.

"Today I am lifting the trade embargo against Vietnam."

February 3, 1994.

30. Cabinet Looking Like America

▶ "One of the things I have tried to do . . . is to try to make this Administration look more like America."

Clinton at Annual Convention of the National Council of La Raza, Miami, July 18, 1994.

- "So many of the top positions in this new Administration are held by millionaires."

 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 6, 1993.
- "Two-thirds of his team are white males, and 86 percent are white. . . . A third are graduates of the prestigious Ivy League colleges, and 36 percent are lawyers.

 His cabinet contains more lawyers and more millionaires than Mr. Bush's did."

 The Guardian, March 10, 1993.
- "Only 4 percent of the White House staff, those working most directly for Clinton, served in the military."

John Wheeler, USA Today, March 6, 1995.

▶ "Clinton is at 30 percent for 672 [women appointees]."

USA Today, March 6, 1995.

31. Campaign Finance Reform

"[I will] end the unlimited 'soft' money contributions that are funneled through national, state, and local parties to presidential candidates."

Putting People First, September 1992.

"For all the talk of change by the new administration, some things remain the same when it comes to raising big bucks for politics. Clinton preached during the campaign against the greed of the 1980s and for new campaign laws that would take Washington away from lobbyists and special interests. His...appearance at [a recent] Democratic National Committee dinner was picketed by Common Cause. The group is upset that Clinton's performance in pushing campaign reform has not matched his rhetoric and that his party has outraised the GOP in the large 'soft money' donations he promised to end."

Washington Post, June 24, 1994.

32. Taking Taxpayers for a Ride

"During the 1980s the White House staff routinely took taxpayers for a ride to play golf or bid on rare stamps. . . . This betrayal of democracy must stop."

Putting People First, September 1992.

"[Government] has been hijacked by the privileged private interests. It is forgotten who really pays the bills around here."

Democrat National Convention, July 16, 1992

- David Watkins, Clinton's director of White House Administration, was caught on film on May 24, 1994 boarding Marine One, the president's helicopter, after he and other White House aides played a round of golf at a country club outside of Washington. The club is approximately a one-hour drive from D.C., but Watkins and the other aides were flown, at taxpayer expense, by the President's helicopter. According to the Washington Times (5/29/94), the junket cost the taxpayers over \$13,000.
- "President Clinton got a full-blown \$200 haircut from Beverly Hills' Monsieur Cristophe at Los Angeles International Airport while Air Force One idled for nearly an hour, blocking ground traffic and closing two runways." It was later learned that Clinton did not have to pay for his hair styling because of a "personal services contract for the whole family."

Washington Times, May 21, 1993.

33. Gays in the Military

"[I will] issue executive orders to repeal the ban on gays and lesbians from military or foreign service."

Putting People First, September 1992.

"... Clinton's first year has been marked by several high-profile broken promises ... such as ... retreating from lifting the ban on gays in the military."

Cincinnati Enquirer, December 28, 1993.

34. Trimming Government Bureaucrats

▶ "[President Bush] won't streamline the federal government and change the way it works, cut 100,000 bureaucrats... but I will."

Democrat National Convention, July 16, 1992.

"We are on our way to a reduction in excess of 250,000 in the federal workforce, which will give us by the end of this decade the smallest federal government since the Kennedy Administration."

Rep. John Mica, before the Subcommittee on Civil Service, March 2, 1995.

By 1996, DoD's share of the workforce cuts will account for 75 percent of all civilian workforce cuts — that's three out of four federal workers, far more than the DoD's proportion of the entire federal workforce (43 percent in FY93).

President Clinton's FY96 Budget, Table S-21

35. Energy Conservation

- ► "Vote for me and . . . we'll conserve more energy all over America."

 Dallas Morning News, January 11, 1992.
- The U.S. imported 10.1 million barrels a day of crude oil and other petroleum products last month, an all time high. Even more alarming, imports as a percentage of U.S. consumption hit 58 percent in July . . ."

USA Today, August 19, 1994.

(Emphasis in all quoted material is not in the original.)

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